Dateline **June 1, 1961**

The Senate on May 22 eased President Kennedy's Aid-to-Education bill past another major threat by voting overwhelmingly to kill an antisegregation rider.

The amendment, offered by Sen. Prescott Bush (R-Conn.) and supported by a majority of Republicans, was killed despite suggestions by Bush and others that a civil rights amendment would be timely in light of the Alabama race riots.

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) appealed to the Senate to consider the aid-to-education measure without reference to race or religion but only on the merits of the bill. However, he said that the Alabama riots "should cause us—as a Nation—to hang our heads in shame." The amendment was tabled by a vote of 61-25.

President Kennedy has announced that 300 Peace Corps volunteers will be sent to the Philippines to teach English and science.

The Philippine project is the third one to be set up by the Peace Corps, and is the largest yet arranged.

Previously announced were plans to send about 30 surveyors, engineers, and geologists to help build roads in Tanganyika and to furnish Columbia with 64 volunteers to work in rural development programs.

In the Philippines the volunteers will work as assistants to teachers to help them with instruction in English and general science subjects in the elementary schools.

The first volunteers are expected to reach the Philippines in November. All 300 are scheduled to be at work by June 30, 1962.

President Kennedy recently sent to Congress a five-year program to combat juvenile delinquency. This program is substantially broader than previous congressional proposals to reduce juvenile crime.

The President's legislative propos-

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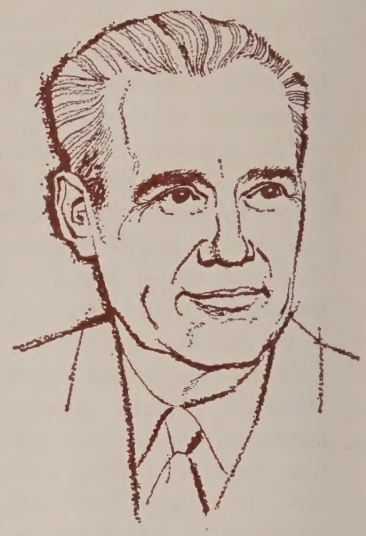
The General Secretary writes



Annual Conference visitations are opportunities we cherish. Now is the time for conference boards to so identify with the total program of the Conference that Christian Social Concerns may be used to activate the entire church in community interests.

Among needed advances are: 1) a reproduction of the National Convocation on conference and district levels; 2) getting social concerns into summer assemblies and other training programs; 3) collaboration with conference committees to bring to Pastor's Schools lecturers and workshops on controversial issues; 4) obtaining larger appropriations for expansion of future program; and 5) encouraging members to so witness that impending crises may be averted or resolved in a Christian way.

For contemporary Christians there is no possibility of taking a so-called "moderate" course. In fact, "moderation" as now used has for Methodists no application to middle-of-the-roadism, or to dragging our feet in social concerns. The times demand Christian activism. There must, of course, be balance, common sense, and sound method in all that we undertake for Christ and human freedom.

Let us again emphasize that we can and should be orderly in all our plans and actions. Fascist methods are as reprehensible as communist designs. We need be neither paganly cold nor hatefully hot. But it must be remembered that the Lord has no respect for the luke-warm. Concerned Methodists will make the position of the latter quite untenable.

Some are wiring us to "call a national day of prayer . . . for the ugly situation in Alabama." This would hardly be possible in time to remedy the damage already done. If possible now it would only magnify before the communist world a deplorable condition that has already been unduly sensationalized. At this writing we think much wiser steps are now being taken by the proper leaders *within that state* to effect future justice and in the present debacle to displace hatred with faith.

It is possible and desirable that in every district of Methodism we can plan and so observe Methodist Student Day that prayer may become one of our best resources for solving racial and other problems without inciting or aggravating these un-American demonstrations.

Many of our universities have succeeded admirably in doing away with segregation. They did it without dramatic fanfare and with commendable motivation. This writer had the privilege several years ago of making a simple motion, in Trustees' meeting, the passage of which effected integration on a leading American campus, in a state where "the majority" (in a public opinion poll) had favored segregation.

This kind of "extremism" is making satisfactory progress in other critical areas, where citizens try to love people enough to lay aside prejudice. But, Christians everywhere must develop enough understanding of differences in cultural backgrounds, and in ideas of Federal-State sovereignty, to become sufficiently patient and long-suffering that peaceful methods can bring practical motivations for change.

Meditations on a picket line

by Creighton Lacy

Professor of Social Ethics and Missions
Duke Divinity School
Durham, N. C.

Spring comes to the Southland in erratic spurts. And so is it with social change. Long, patient cultivation may produce modest blossoms and satisfying fruit. Bright, cheery buds may lift the morale of an entire neighborhood, only to be nipped by chilling winds. Those who dig and plant and water in the gardens of racial integration know that weeds grow faster in early spring than flowers, that squirrels and rabbits still gnaw the tender shoots.

In Durham, N. C., Wednesday, March 8, 1961, brought a long-awaited thaw. On that day the Trustees of Duke University voted "that qualified applicants may be admitted to degree programs in the graduate and professional schools . . . without regard to race, creed, or national origin."

A change of climate

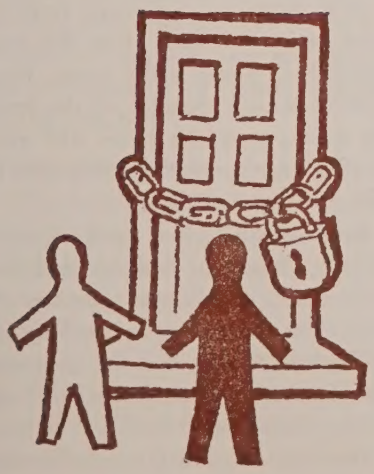
That decision marked a significant change in climate. Over a period of years student polls and faculty resolutions indicated a willingness to discard the unwritten but unyielding policy of segregation. For a long time Negroes have been welcome at concerts and lectures, in the chapel and the libraries, but not in the public cafeterias and not — save for an occasional unmatriculated summer student — in the classrooms.

This past winter Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, spoke on the race question before an overflowing, unsegregated audience in Page Auditorium. How soon will he or some equally moving Negro clergyman be invited to preach from the Duke pulpit, for the church — on campus or in community — still lags behind administrative policy?

The Divinity School, often regarded by friend and foe as the conscience of the University, has not been silent. Through personally signed petitions and formal faculty action, its professors have pled for this "day of liberation" for their corporate and individual consciences. Students have circulated appeals and affirmed their readiness to make the necessary adjustments.

Blocked from further action on campus, a half dozen "theologs" demonstrated their sympathies by getting arrested during the sit-in campaigns over a year ago.

Yet the student newspaper and University gossips often assumed that economic determinism, in the form of government and private research grants, spoke louder than Christian ethics. A Durham editorial pointed out a week after March 8 that "Duke is the first private institution in North Carolina to admit Negroes to its graduate and professional schools, but . . . insofar as Southern theological seminaries and divinity schools are concerned, the Duke Divinity School will be among the last to admit Negro students."



Yet we of the academic and religious community face the new situation — very minor changes it is likely to bring — with a realization of problems and responsibilities, but with mingled penitence and pride.

Two days after the Trustees announced their decision, a dozen members of the Duke faculty joined picket lines outside two local theatres. The timing was coincidental; in fact, some of us feared that premature and immature student reporting might have harmed the larger cause of University admission. The

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picketing had been undertaken in collaboration with professors from neighboring North Carolina College (for Negroes) in support of the young people who had launched a protest two months before against the main first-run theaters operating segregated balconies.

Obviously this was no more than a token demonstration. Many of our colleagues who staunchly oppose racial discrimination in any form felt compelled to reject this particular method. Others averred their determination to withhold direct action until a more crucial issue than theaters might be offered.

Still others judged themselves temperamentally unsuited for such undignified display. About 24 white faculty members took part, though at least 156 signed a petition to theater managers urging unsegregated seating and pledging to respect the picket lines.

The reason

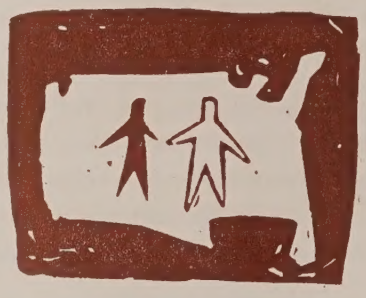
Why then resort to such conspicuous tactics, just when slow and cautious moves had achieved a greater victory? I had considered the question at odd moments. I thought about it more as I paced back and forth on the sidewalk clutching a large board with the inscription, "Half Freedom Is No Freedom."

Though I earlier toyed with the idea of picketing (what would people think?), I had lacked initiative even to inquire about procedures until an overture came from our North Carolina colleagues by way of the Divinity School Social Awareness Committee.

Actually I felt no martyr complex; I did not consciously seek to salve my conscience. I did not expect to shame or persuade many people from attending the movies. What I did want was to show my sympathy for and solidarity with Negro citizens in their effort to secure justice and equal rights.

Theaters might be a very minor target, but at least this was something I could do here and now, instead of merely preaching from a pulpit or a class lectern. As one young Southerner put it, when asked what his emotions had been on the picket line: "I didn't feel anything in particular one way or the other; I just knew this was something I ought to do."

For the first participation we went downtown in a body, four or five from the religion departments, a social scientist or two, a half dozen from the natural sciences. In a bare,



dilapidated second-floor office the student committee received us. We took a solemn pledge to "demean" ourselves in a Christian manner, to avoid verbal or physical retaliation even if assaulted.

Despite the crude surroundings, the high school students chatting or trying to study amid the hubbub, the "junior secret society" atmosphere, there was something profoundly religious about taking that vow, and about the young leaders' determination to avoid violence or antagonism.

Participants briefed

We were briefed on how and where to walk, on how to ignore epithets, on how to call the police and serve as accurate witnesses if any member of the line should be attacked. We walked in half-hour shifts—and the local press remarked sarcastically that we "did not join the march until after dark."

One raucous boy shouted his amazement at "a white man on the line" and hurled an insult at a Negro woman in our group, the charming wife of a college chaplain. There were no other incidents. Some of us resolved to disprove press insinuations that this was a "one-shot affair" by appearing at least one a week.

What was accomplished? The next morning a call of congratulations and encouragement came from a woman who said she could do nothing in direct support herself because her husband was such a rabid segregationist that the newspaper headlines had set off a family tirade.

That afternoon my wife received an obscene telephone call. At least a dozen more Duke faculty members asked to join the group. Undergraduates, almost ready to drop their participation, were stimulated to renewed and larger efforts.

Theater partonage, even among whites, unquestionably dropped off despite some outstanding pictures. Some Duke students hesitated to cross a faculty picket line—for mixed reasons.

Perhaps the presence of University professors in an "undignified" role convinced a few townspeople that there may be a moral issue at stake, not merely a kids' escapade. Newspaper publicity—and mention in *Time* magazine—may have sharpened the determination of civic leaders that Durham should meet its social crises peacefully and rationally. One can sympathize with the word of one theater manager that he would desegregate—albeit very reluctantly—if anyone, including the police, could assure him that racist hoodlums would not tear up his theater.

Boycott called

On March 21 a boycott was called against selected stores which refused to hire Negroes on a merit employment basis. For most of us this represented a more valid cause than cinema seating. Several of the leading stores, especially those with substantial Negro patronage, promised to take on Negro clerks.

Between April 1 and April 13, some 22 jobs, either new or up-graded (i.e. from maid or elevator operator to sales clerk), were opened to Negroes in Durham stores, and the proposed list of several dozen stores for boycotting dwindled to five.

One can hope that white faculty

participation in theater picket lines (at a special Duke University Day on April 21, some 93 students and faculty turned out to take a turn on the Durham theater picket line) may have served, however indirectly, to indicate to shopkeepers and the public that community sentiment for racial justice is rising, and means business in every sense of that term.

The course of social progress never did run smooth. At meetings when Duke students presumed to question the picketing of particular stores, or to plead for reconciliation and charity rather than vindictiveness in mapping strategy, they were told in effect: "You can help us if you want to, or you can pull out, but we are calling the tune."

I belong to the older set; I smiled at the irony of my first picket board, which proclaimed, "This Generation Will Not Tolerate Discrimination." But a new day has come to America and to the South. A new generation is in control. The impatience of Africa is reflected in Durham and elsewhere.

We liberals are welcome to put our shoulders to the wheel. But if we stand aside, the movement *will* roll on without us, just as it will over those who try to push it back.

A new impatience

This new impatience demands new insight on the part of Christians everywhere. Colored people on the march around the world cannot be asked to draw the same lines of caution and moderation which we whites might like to see. Their momentum cannot be stemmed by our careful calculations that we will picket theaters but not stores, that we will accept them at lunchcounters but not in restaurants.

At a mass meeting one of the highly educated, cultured, influential Negro leaders remarked: "There are lots of churches in Durham, but the most powerful converter is the dollar. If the dollar played a role in opening the doors of a great university like Duke, should we deny its power to open theaters or fair employment?"

The Church has already lost its opportunity to *lead* in this crusade. Will it continue to stand by, idle and undecided, or even critical? Or can the Christian conscience yet help to smooth the rough road which still lies ahead toward justice and brotherhood in every area of life?

Spring comes in erratic spurts. But it comes.

Narcotics addiction in the United States

A drug addict is a person who continues to use an addiction-producing drug, such as morphine, heroin, marihuana, made from Indian hemp, and cocaine, derived from coca leaves.

In the United States, the Bureau of Narcotics reports that there is no evidence of illegal production or manufacture of these narcotic drugs. The Bureau also reports that the diversion from legal channels is minor.

The figures reported involving seizure of illegal drugs by the Bureau of Narcotics seem to be the best indication available of the strength and direction of the illicit drug traffic in this country.

Four states high

The incidence of addiction in 1959 continued to be highest in the four states which had previously reported the greatest number of addicts. New York State reported 20,732 addicts or 45.7 per cent of all the addicts in the United States. California reported 6,471 addicts, Illinois, 6,191, and Michigan 2,366. All of the other states made up only 21.2 per cent of the addicts reported.

As of December 31, 1959, 3.8 per cent of all the addicts reported or 1,734 persons were under the age of 21. More than half of all the addicts, or 24,343 persons, were between 21 and 30 years of age. The next largest group, 31-40 years old, included 14,058 addicts.

Continuous field investigations confirm results now shown in the statistical tabulations on addiction. Sixty-five per cent of the addicts reported to the Bureau of Narcotics in any

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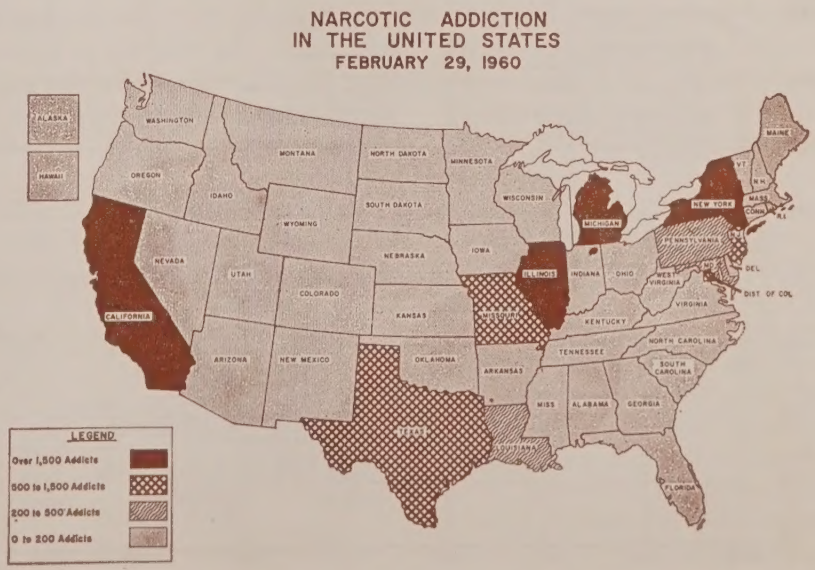

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given year are not reported to the Bureau again.

This fact, coupled with the reporting of fewer new addicts each succeeding year, adds up to a decreasing number of narcotic addicts over the past few years. As an example, out of 16,725 addicts reported during the 1953-54 period, only 5,921 were reported as again using narcotics during the succeeding five years.

The table on this page shows the history of drug addiction in the United States. The turning point in this history is the passage of the Harrison Act in 1914. Although statistics on the subject were not carefully compiled at that time, there were indications of at least 200,000 addicts. Today's estimated total is 60,000, of whom 45,391 have been reported. This total of 60,000 is an "educated guess" on the part of the Bureau of Narcotics. Because of this decrease, and because of the population increase over these years, the rate of incidence has dropped from an estimate of one addict for every 400 persons in the United States in 1914 to one addict in 4,000 persons today.

Important legal factors

Since the Bureau of Narcotics considers both severe mandatory penalties for unlawful sale of narcotic drugs and compulsory commitment of addicts important legal factors in reducing the U. S. total, the average length of sentences for narcotic violations in 86 U. S. district courts over the past 11 years has increased.

The Bureau of Narcotics points to Ohio as a clearcut example of the value of severe penalities for narcotic law violators.

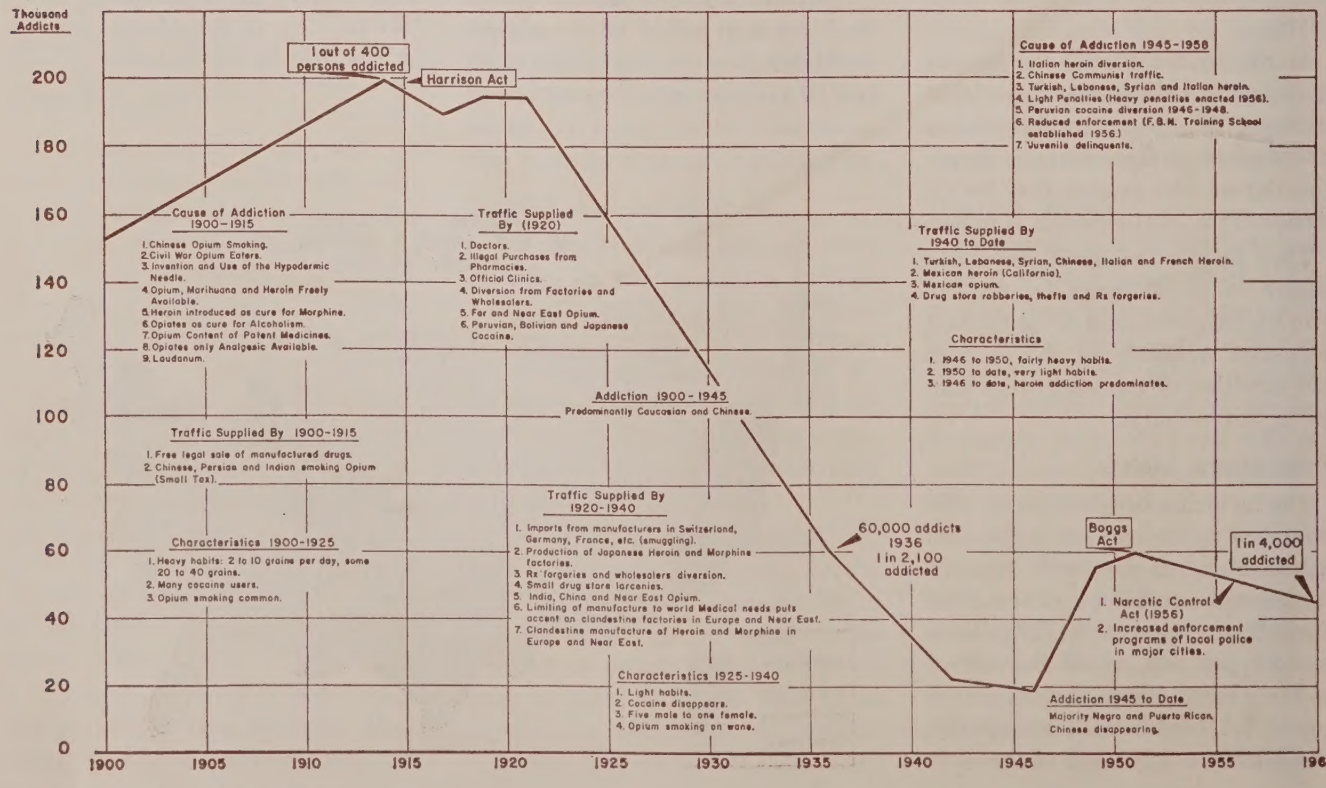
Ohio's narcotic laws, several years ago, had weaknesses and loopholes. As a result violators were greater than in neighboring states. But in 1953 a strong campaign was started to cut down drastically on Ohio's illicit narcotic traffic.

In 1955 the state legislature passed a strong law calling for two to 10 year prison sentences for illegal possession of narcotics. The penalty for possession with intent to sell became 10 to 40 years, and for actual illegal sale, two to 40 years.

This broke the back of the narcotics racket in Ohio. Narcotics violations dropped 80 per cent and the Bureau was able to reduce its Ohio force from 20 to three.—*This report was prepared by Nelson Reppert, consultant on research for the Division of Temperance and General Welfare.*

All figures and facts presented in this article were taken from: "Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs," a report by the Government of the United States of America for the year ended December 31, 1959, Treasury Department, Bureau of Narcotics.

HISTORY OF NARCOTIC ADDICTION IN THE UNITED STATES


Thousand Addicts
200
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920
1925
1930
1935
1940
1945
1950
1955
1960
1 out of 400 persons addicted
Harrison Act
Cause of Addiction 1900–1915
1. Chinese Opium Smoking.
2. Civil War Opium Eaters.
3. Invention and Use of the Hypodermic Needle.
4. Opium, Marihuana and Heroin Freely Available.
5. Heroin introduced as cure for Morphine.
6. Opiates as cure for Alcoholism.
7. Opium Content of Patent Medicines.
8. Opiates only Analgesic Available.
9. Laudanum.
Traffic Supplied By 1900–1915
1. Free legal sale of manufactured drugs.
2. Chinese, Persian and Indian smoking Opium (Small Tax).
Characteristics 1900–1925
1. Heavy habits: 2 to 10 grains per day, some 20 to 40 grains.
2. Many cocaine users.
3. Opium smoking common.
Traffic Supplied By (1920)
1. Doctors.
2. Illegal Purchases from Pharmacies.
3. Official Clinics.
4. Diversion from Factories and Wholesalers.
5. Far and Near East Opium.
6. Peruvian, Bolivian and Japanese Cocaine.
Addiction 1900–1945
Predominantly Caucasian and Chinese.
Traffic Supplied By 1920–1940
1. Imports from manufacturers in Switzerland, Germany, France, etc. (smuggling).
2. Production of Japanese Heroin and Morphine factories.
3. Rx forgeries and wholesalers diversion.
4. Small drug store larcenies.
5. India, China and Near East Opium.
6. Limiting of manufacture to world Medical needs puts accent on clandestine factories in Europe and Near East.
7. Clandestine manufacture of Heroin and Morphine in Europe and Near East.
Characteristics 1925–1940
1. Light habits.
2. Cocaine disappears.
3. Five male to one female.
4. Opium smoking on wane.
60,000 addicts 1936
1 in 2,100 addicted
Cause of Addiction 1945–1958
1. Italian heroin diversion.
2. Chinese Communist traffic.
3. Turkish, Lebanese, Syrian and Italian heroin.
4. Light Penalties (Heavy penalties enacted 1956).
5. Peruvian cocaine diversion 1946–1948.
6. Reduced enforcement (F.B.N. Training School established 1956.)
7. Juvenile delinquents.
Traffic Supplied By 1940 to Date
1. Turkish, Lebanese, Syrian, Chinese, Italian and French Heroin.
2. Mexican heroin (California).
3. Mexican opium.
4. Drug store robberies, thefts and Rx forgeries.
Characteristics
1. 1946 to 1950, fairly heavy habits.
2. 1950 to date, very light habits.
3. 1946 to date, heroin addiction predominates.
Boggs Act
1. Narcotic Control Act (1956)
2. Increased enforcement programs of local police in major cities.
1 in 4,000 addicted
Addiction 1945 to Date
Majority Negro and Puerto Rican. Chinese disappearing.

Bureau of Narcotics views Single Convention

In March an international convention on narcotics was adopted by a United Nations Conference for the Adoption of a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (see *Concern*, April 15, page 5, March 15, page 5).

To become a treaty, this Convention, which seeks to insure an adequate supply of narcotics for relief of suffering while preventing the spread of drug addiction, must be ratified by 40 governments.

The U. S. Government is one of these. The convention is currently being considered by the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Narcotics as to whether it should be signed and ratified.

The Bureau of Narcotics of the U. S. Treasury Department criticizes two of the provisions of the Convention. "Nearly all of the other provisions are satisfactory," Commissioner of Narcotics H. J. Anslinger says.

Anslinger explained that "we feel that the provision relating to limitation of opium production is a long step backward and, accordingly, this article is being given a very thorough review."

Opium limitation

The Convention's limitation of the production of opium article would require: 1) parties to prohibit the smoking of opium by all persons not registered as opium smokers on Jan. 1, 1964; 2) parties to abolish within 15 years from the coming into force of the Convention the quasi-medical use of opium; and 3) the parties to agree to limit the production of opium to medical and scientific needs and to establish a national agency to gather the opium crop.

The article would restrict the cultivation of opium to persons licensed by the agency and limit producers of opium for export to those having been exporters during the past 10 years, or in the case of new exporters desiring to export not more than five tons annually to those having notified the International Control Board.

The Bureau of Narcotics feels that this provision is considerably weaker than the provision in a 1953 Protocol which limited lawful exporters of opium to seven named parties. This Protocol is still not ratified.

Commissioner Anslinger said that the United States recommended civil commitment in the provision dealing with the treatment of drug addiction. The U. S. delegation to the conference favored compulsory treatment for drug addiction in a closed institution.

The final Convention contains an article recommending only that parties having a serious addiction problem provide adequate treatment facilities if they have the economic means to do so. The Bureau of Narcotics points out that this is a meaningless statement.

The United States delegation to the conference concluded that the Single Convention is not as strong a document as desired and that it does not offer any real improvement over existing multilateral treaties.

Some members to the conference hoped that the new international narcotics control board would receive the power to hold investigations and to impose a mandatory embargo on a given country for a given narcotic.

However, the Single Convention as adopted only empowers the board to recommend to the parties an embargo against a country whose noncompliance with the provisions of the Convention endangers the control of international traffic in narcotic drugs.

This provision is considerably weaker than the mandatory embargo provision found in the 1953 Opium Protocol.

The Single Convention would combine the functions of the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Drug Supervisory Body into the work of an International Control Board with a single Secretariat.

Professors send open letter to President Kennedy

The following statement was addressed to President Kennedy by 70 professors in the Boston Area, including four teachers in the Boston University School of Theology. It appeared in the New York Times *as a paid advertisement on May 10, 1961, and is reprinted in* Concern *by the Division of Peace and World Order.*

The struggle against communism in the Western Hemisphere will not be won by brandishing the Big Stick.

None of us approves the Castro regime's repression of civil liberties within Cuba, nor its dependence on the communist bloc. But we believe the United States' attempt to destroy Castro fails to come to grips with the meaning of the recent Cuban experience, and seriously endangers the pursuit of our most vital interests in world affairs.

It is now a matter of record that the attempt at counter-revolution was planned, organized, and directed by an agency of the United States Government. This agency, acting in secret and deceiving both the American people and the Cuban rebels—particularly the most democratic among those rebels—has blundered in an inexcusable and almost inconceivable manner. But this was more

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than a failure of *technique;* it was a failure of *policy* itself.

The major premise of U. S. Cuban policy for at least a year has been that we must crush Castro. Indeed, when certain of today's rebel leaders were still members of the Castro government, the United States had already demonstrated its disenchantment with the Cuban revolution. Our enormous economic power, which might have been wielded to further Cuban democracy, was wasted in a fruitless effort to weaken and undermine the new regime. Whether from aversion to evolution, or from fear of expropriation of American property, our government acted so as to encourage those tendencies towards dictatorship and anti-Americanism latent in any Latin American social upheaval. The United States' determination to isolate Cuba made the Soviet bloc Castro's only support of military and economic support. This resulted, as has happened so often before, in a sharp increase in the power of the local Communist Party.

The burden is on us

Today, Castro may well, in fact, represent a threat to the security of the Americas. But this is not primarily a military threat. The danger Castro poses is clear: that by subversion or example his particular brand of social revolution will spread through Latin America. The burden, then, is on us. It requires a vastly greater effort than we have yet made to demonstrate that genuine social reform is compatible with democratic institutions.

Meanwhile, any further effort to destroy Castro would serve only to intensify terror within Cuba. A more formidable American-inspired rebel invasion, or the sending of American troops would, we believe, have still more disastrous consequences.

"Victory" by American intervention would require bloody war and prolonged occupation. Can anyone believe that a free Cuban government would emerge from these circumstances? More important, even if we did succeed, by such means, in replacing Castro, we would still have done far greater damage to ourselves than to international communism. We would have established anti-Americanism as the central theme of Latin-American politics for decades to come.

Suspicion of U. S. grows

Already, Mr. President, in the view of such cautious and responsible journals as the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Observer,* the CIA fiasco has undone much of the good your administration has achieved in the world arena, and substantially weakened Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's effectiveness in the United Nations. Your threat to impose our will in the Caribbean, whatever the wishes of the other American states, and in violation of inter-American agreements, has created wide-spread suspicion that the United States will reorient its foreign policy in the direction of Soviet-style power politics.

Further intervention in Cuba will give the lie to our professions of respect for treaty obligations, and will make it much more difficult for us to persuade the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that we will act towards them with understanding.

We, therefore, endorse the resolution adopted by the Cuba Protest Meeting held at Harvard University on April 26, 1961:

RESOLVED: that the United States Government should:

1) reverse the present drift towards American military intervention in Cuba;

2) give no further support for the invasion of Cuba by exile groups;

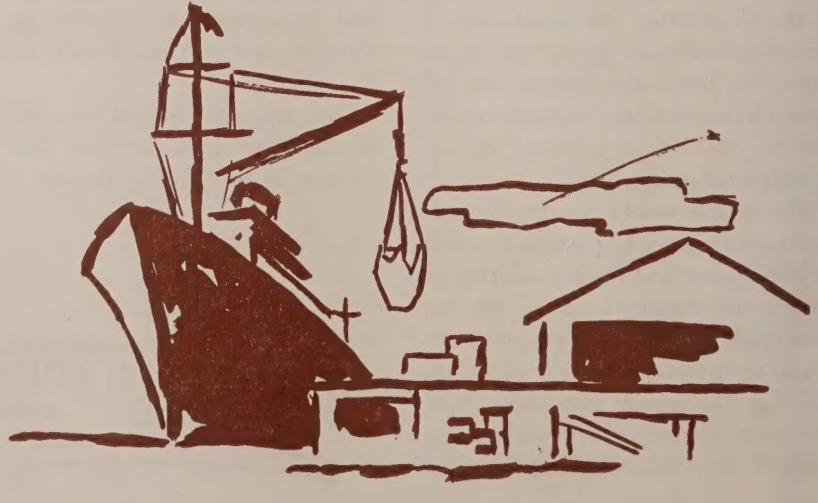
3) seek instead to detach the Castro regime from the communist bloc by working for a diplomatic detente *and a resumption of trade relations; and*

4) concentrate its constructive efforts on eliminating in other parts of Latin America the social conditions on which totalitarian nationalism feeds.

There are alternatives

We are distressed that there has been so little public discussion of the alternatives to present U. S. Cuban policy. With a few notable exceptions, debate has centered on the varieties of intervention rather than on the decision to intervene. In the press, consideration has been circumscribed by an uncritical acceptance of the early decision to overthrow Castro and, more recently, by an equally uncritical acquiescence in the call for national unity. We believe that there *are* alternatives, that debate *is* necessary—though it would be foolish to suggest that the alternatives can be seized without courage and patience. The first imperative is a cooling-off period, and an announcement of our willingness to test the sincerity of the Cuban offer to negotiate differences.

We regard this issue as a crucial and revealing measure of our desire to assume responsibility for new directions in foreign affairs. Surely we have confidence enough in the ways of freedom to accept this challenge.



What about Cuba?

The reactions to the Cuban fiasco have been many and varied. Some have become angry and have demanded immediate, overwhelming military intervention by U. S. forces. Others have condemned the blunders and ineptness of the invasion operation, while approving its objectives. A few believe the United States should stay clear of the Cuban situation and mind its own business.

What should Christians say or do at this juncture? First, they should take a hard look at the facts. In today's world, any policy adopted by the United States so affects other countries as to constitute a form of intervention. This nation is inescapably involved and cannot avoid responsibility.

Examine purposes

Second, Christians should examine critically the purposes which underly U. S. policy. In this process, they will certainly be gravely concerned with the loss of freedom suffered by the Cuban people and the growing strength of communist influence over the Castro government. They will share the conviction that the United States should support the aspirations of the Cubans both for individual freedom and for drastic social reform.

Third, Christians should consider carefully what are appropriate and morally acceptable methods to implement their convictions. This involves a proper respect for the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the people of other nations. It also requires a genuine adherence to our treaty obligations in the Organization of American States and the United Nations. Finally, it means proper respect for our own laws forbidding the mounting of invasions against countries.

Future U.S. policy

What does this mean for future U. S. policy toward Cuba? It involves an end to the fostering and financing of Cuban revolutionary activities. It means a readiness to accept the mediation of third parties which we so often have urged upon other nations. It calls for U. S. resort to the procedures of the Organization of American States and the United Nations in the settlement of the dispute with Cuba.

The new "Alliance for Progress" through which $500,000,000 of technical and economic aid will be channeled is an important step to achieve social reform and economic advance without loss of human freedom. Its success will depend in large part on how the U. S. handles its differences with Cuba.

Unilateral military action against the Castro regime will result in serious disturbances throughout Latin America, possibly the overthrow of friendly democratic governments. Multilateral cooperation through international organizations in dealing with the problems may not secure all the action desired by the United States. It will preserve the friendship and confidence of many smaller nations who look to this country for leadership in world affairs.

A choice to make

Last, but far from least, the people and government of the United States must make an important choice. Should we abandon the moral principles which we claim distinguish us from the communist leaders in order to gain a limited and dubious victory in the world power struggle?

The consequences of this choice are enormous? The continued existence of the United Nations as a significant world agency may be at stake. The faith of the American people in the moral integrity of their government will be vitally affected.—*by Herman Will, Jr.*

The right not to be lied to

The following statement was excerpted from an editorial which appeared in the New York Times *on May 1. The editorial was headed "The Right Not to be Lied To."*

In this period of cold war, with its nightmares of hot war just around the corner, there must be secrets kept from the American public in order to preserve them from our adversaries.

The Central Intelligence Agency is specifically authorized to "correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to the national security and provide for the appropriate dissemination of such intelligence within the Government." The existence of the cold war implies secret operations on our side in self-defense against the normal subversive operations of the other side that cannot be revealed, nor would the responsible American press want to reveal them.

But the Government has a duty also. Neither prudence nor ethics can justify any administration in telling the public things that are not so. A year ago this month, when an American plane was shot down over Russia, the State Department said that "there was no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet space and there never has been." This wasn't true. It was

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not even usefully untrue, for the Russians already held the pilot, Francis Gary Powers, and had secured a confession from him.

The recent Cuban episode has not been so clear. As has been reported in this and other newspapers, there is no doubt that men were recruited in this country for the projected attack on Cuba. The fact was well known in and around Miami prior to the attack and could not be kept secret from Castro's own spies.

Truth in a democracy

What some leaders of our Government stated in this regard did not square with the facts. If they could not reveal the facts, they would have done better to remain silent. A democracy—our democracy—cannot be lied to. This is one of the factors that make it more precious, more delicate, more difficult and yet essentially stronger than any other form of government in the world.

Suggestions for follow-up to Washington convocation

This year the Methodist General Board of Christian Social Concerns launched its program by inviting 800 persons to join the Springtime throngs in the nation's capital. These 800 came to Washington for the National Convocation on Christian Social Concerns. With Washington residents, over 1,000 persons participated in the Convocation.

Delegates representing the various annual conferences learned that the leadership of the church considers social concerns very important. They learned of the urgency of the need for solutions to the nation's and the world's pressing social problems, and were humbled by the scope of these problems that need Christian attention.

Perhaps most important, they received new strength in learning of the countless numbers of Methodists across the land who are engaged in programs of social concerns on the local, district, conference, state, national, and international levels.

But the new insights gained and the new horizons lifted by the Convocation can only be effective if they carry over into the social concerns action of every annual conference, district, and local church.

Here are some of the ways that the spirit of the Convocation can reach into these important divisions of the church:

Conference or state

1) A follow-up annual conference or state convocation on social concerns for local church chairmen and pastors can be held. In some cases, several conference boards will be able to plan a state Methodist Convocation at the state capital or another central place.

2) Interboard Schools held in annual conferences this Quadrennium to train leaders of the five required commissions can highlight the concerns of the Convocation and the Quadrennial Emphasis. Conference chairmen wishing to have district or subdistrict interboard schools must ask the bishop and cabinet to arrange these.

3) Special opportunity for reporting on the Convocation can be provided at the annual conference session. The special May 15 *Concern* can serve as the textbook for such a report.

District programs

1) Some districts can schedule special one-day district convocations on Social Concerns during the quadrennium, emphasizing one or more social issues at each session, giving special attention to perfecting the organization of a Commission on Social Concerns in every church.

2) District Directors can encourage attendance of commission chairmen at annual conference or state convocations and interboard schools. They can encourage the scheduling of a series of interboard schools of instruction.

3) District Directors can report on the Convocation at district and subdistrict meetings and at ministers' meetings using the Convocation issue of *Concern*.

4) District Directors can encourage the scheduling of the new course on the Commission on Social Concerns in subdistrict Christian Workers Schools in the district. District Directors need to prepare to teach the course. Outlines are available from the Department of Leadership Education, Box 871, Nashville 2, Tenn.

Local church program

1) The May 15 issue of *Concern* can serve as the basis for a report on the Convocation before the commission, official board, and congregation.

2) Excerpts from speeches can be used as bulletin or newsletter copy.

3) The highlights of the Convocation record available for $3.50 from the Service Department could help in interpreting the Convocation to the church.

For help in implementing any of the above suggestions write to the Rev. Robert Regan, Jr., Director, Organizational Activities, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington 2, D. C. Regan directed the Convocation.

Additional copies of the May 15 Convocation *Concern* are available for 25 cents each. The Convocation Highlights 33⅓ rpm record is available for $3.50 plus mailing costs. For either or both of these write to: Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

Commission adopts report aiming at inclusive church

The Inter-Jurisdictional Commission of Thirty-six adopted the following plan at its meeting April 29, 1961, Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., with 24 members present. Voting: 19 for, 3 opposed, 2 abstaining. This plan provides for the seriatim merger of the Central Jurisdiction into the geographical jurisdictions.

The commission has requested that the Board of Christian Social Concerns and the Woman's Division of Christian Service promote the discussion of this report in annual conferences and in local churches through the Commission of Christian Social Concerns.

The report has gone to the bishops and the secretaries of the annual conferences, and will be going to the delegates of the Louisville conference, district superintendents, Council of Secretaries, Denominational Staff Council, chairmen of the annual conference boards of Christian Social Concerns, chairmen of the Committees on Human Relations and Economic Affairs of the annual conference boards.

It is anticipated that the three groups (Commission on Inter-Jurisdictional Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, and the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs) will produce joint material which will assist in the discussion of this report, for example: a manual giving the history leading to this report and suggestions for discussion techniques and questions; charts or a film strip giving the structure and statistics of jurisdictional patterns in The Methodist Church.

This request from the Inter-Jurisdictional Commission is a number one priority in the Quadrennial Program on Race. We hope that all our Division Chairmen, both in annual conferences and local churches, and district secretaries will give every effort to see that discussion is undertaken. The discussion should eventuate action on the report. *A.D.W.*

Report submitted

The Commission on Inter-Jurisdictional Relations submits this report to the Council of Bishops, the conferences, and the Church as the first step towards fulfillment of its task to accept "the continuing program of The Methodist Church to abolish the Central Jurisdiction, promote interracial brotherhood through Christian love, and achieve a more inclusive church" (Par. 2013, 1960 Discipline).

This goal should be reached as rapidly as possible by means of both

short-range and intermediate steps which can be taken as necessary and possible in each case, depending on the local situation involved.

Specific actions urged

We, therefore, urge the following actions:

1) The encouragement of all church members to develop individual friendships, mutual understanding, and actual experience in worshipping, cooperating and working together in matters of mutual concern without regard to ethnic background. This effort must be constructively planned and placed on a solid and continuing basis.

2) The re-alignment of the jurisdictions by the merging of the present jurisdictions with appropriate episcopal areas, conferences, or other units of the present Central Jurisdiction, as authorized by Amendment IX, to form new and enhanced jurisdictional structures. This process will be voluntary and shall proceed at a schedule and in a manner dictated by the individual needs and desires of the merging units involved.

In our initial discussions, the following plan commended itself for reference to the jurisdictions and annual conferences concerned for careful study and implementation as soon as feasible:

A) To merge with the Northeastern Jurisdiction as a possible new area — the Delaware Conference, Washington Conference, and North Carolina Conference.

B) To merge with the North Central Jurisdiction as a possible new area — the Central West Conference. Lexington Conference, and Southwest Conference.

C) To merge with the South Central Jurisdiction as a possible new area — the West Texas Conference, Texas Conference, and Louisiana Conference.

D) To merge with the Southeastern Jurisdiction as a possible new area — the South Carolina Conference, Georgia Conference, and Florida Conference.

E) To merge with the Southeastern Jurisdiction as a possible new area — the East Tennessee Conference, Tennessee Conference, Upper Mississippi Conference, Mississippi Conference, and Central Alabama Conference.

Note: *In achieving the mergers suggested in the preceding plan (A, B, C, D, E) the re-alignment of Annual Conferences and Episcopal Area boundaries may be desirable.*

3) At a time when the last of the units comprising the present Central Jurisdiction has been transferred, that jurisdiction will cease to exist and will be officially terminated as provided in Amendment IX.

4) Later, the merger of conferences within the re-constituted jurisdictions should take place. This should proceed as soon as all confer-

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ences affected are ready for this move.

5) Ultimately — depending on the desires of the members concerned — it is hoped and expected that the final merger of individual congregations will become possible.

6) Concurrently, all boards, commissions, colleges, hospitals, homes, bookstores and other Methodist institutions are urged to comply fully with the spirit and intent of the Statement on Race (Par. 2026, 1960 Discipline).

Better standards program

As part of this suggested plan, the principle shall be established that the stronger conferences recognize their responsibility to assist the weaker ones in attaining as rapidly as possible better standards of program, ministerial training, salaries, pensions and similar goals.

Such help shall include a two-fold plan of additional financial support: 1) assistance to the newly merged conferences to gradually upgrade their standards of pensions, salaries and ministerial training; 2) assistance as may be necessary to the remaining part of the Central Jurisdiction for a continuation of the financial support previously carried by the conference or other unit which had merged with the geographical jurisdiction. It is anticipated that World Service and other apportionments will be adjusted accordingly.

Since the achievement of a fully inclusive church is the concern of the whole church, we recognize that the ultimate responsibilities for solving financial inequities must be assumed by the whole church.

The Commission requests that the bodies, to whom this report is addressed, report any actions or reactions which they deem will be of use to the future work of this Commission.

Little action on liquor bills in Congress

The position of The Methodist Church in regard to the sale and use of alcoholic beverages is well known. The Methodist Church has consistently held that the use of alcoholic beverages in any form contributes nothing to the welfare of the individual and leads to the breaking of many homes.

Economically, the income which the state receives from taxes is more than offset by the loss of income to the individual because of drink and the amount of money that has to be spent for hospitalization and rehabilitation of those addicted to drink. None of this compares with the heartache which follows these conditions.

The Board of Christian Social Concerns follows with care those actions which seem to indicate a breaking down of the restraints which the Christian conscience imposes. The Board's Division of Temperance and General Welfare especially notes the devious manner in which the liquor business attempts to circumvent all efforts to control it. For example:

● Montgomery County, Md., recently set up its own dispensary system to help control the sale and use of liquor. The Liquor Control Board has now departed from its "take it or leave it" attitude and has inaugurated a system of self-service shops, drive-in dispensary windows, weekend specials and advice from the clerks.

With bright, clean liquor stores and convenient locations, the Board hopes to encourage the women to come in and do the family liquor buying. The head of the Board said recently, "My theory is that good business practices attract good business and keep it coming." Thus, the present policy is not to control or limit the sales, but to increase consumption of alcoholic beverages.

● In Virginia, the Chamber of Commerce recommended a broaden-

ing of the dispensary system and advocated selling liquor by the drink in "selected hotels and restaurants."

Liquor in government

● In Maryland, the House Alcoholic Beverage Committee offers a prime example of how the liquor industry has infiltrated state after state. The Washington *Post* recently reported that "relations between the Alcoholic Beverage Committee and the industry over whose interests it presides in the Legislature have ripened through the years into a mellow rapport."

In the Assembly's 1961 session, the *Post* reported, the Committee showed its "dedication to the industry" by pigeonholing a proposed increase in Maryland's 3-cent-a-gallon beer tax, maneuvering a bill through the Assembly to pave the way for the sale of liquor in traditionally dry Garrett County, and killing local bills to prevent bottle-clubbing in Montgomery County restaurants and also to ban new liquor licenses within 300 feet of churches in Baltimore.

● In Washington, D. C., Rep. Abraham J. Multer (D-N. Y.), introduced a bill in Congress (H. R. 5678) to amend the D. C. Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to prohibit the giving of liquor prices in advertising. Many liquor dealers support the bill on the basis that by publishing prices the cut-rate liquor stores draw their customers and eat into the profits of other liquor stores. Although hearings have been completed on the bill

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A Convocation extra

The spiritual offensive

by Dr. Charles Malik

Because the challenge today is total, the response must also be total. It follows that there are three unpardonable sins today: to be superficial in the analysis of the world situation; to live and act as though halfhearted measures would avail; and to lack the moral courage to rise to the historic occasion.

Thus, to err intellectually, to be sloppy and slothful in one's mode of living, and, for any reason, to play the coward—these can easily doom Western civilization, either through some sudden world cataclysm, or through the slow decay and death that come from the paralysis of fear.

If the response must be total, then everybody has a role to play. Government, business, labor, the press, the university, the churches—every agency and every person must respond, each in his own way and each within the limits of his competence. For I cannot repeat it too often; the challenge today is total and therefore nothing short of a total response is worthy or adequate. But first let us delineate the character of the challenge.

The challenge

Very briefly, I submit that there are four interacting dimensions to the challenge: (1) there is the challenge of international communism; (2) there is the challenge of the rising nations and peoples; (3) there is the challenge of the internal stresses and strains in the West itself; and (4) there is the formidable challenge of the technological revolution.

The character of the communist challenge consists, first, in a conception of matter, man, society, history, government, and the supreme being radically opposite to anything you and I and your ancestors and mine have known for the last four thousand years; second, in the existence of a superbly organized political party, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, with an absolutely dedicated membership all over the world of about 40,000,000 people, actively working day and night in every country to bring every people on earth under the bondage of this philosophy of exist-

ence; third, in the fact that this party uses every conceivable means—war, revolution, subversion, infiltration, propaganda, intimidation, dictatorship, manipulation of the masses, smear tactics, character assassination, exciting the basest instincts in man—to attain its ends of world domination; fourth, in the fact that this world revolutionary thrust is backed by one of the most powerful military establishments in the world——in fact some people think it is already the most powerful military force; and fifth, in the fact that this world revolutionary force, notwithstanding the innumerable ups and downs it went through during the last 44 years, has always in the end managed to come out triumphant, and has succeeded in extending and consolidating its iron hold upon at least a third of the human race, so that more and more people are beginning to suspect that perhaps you are dealing here with an inexorable, irresistible and irreversible tidal wave of history.

Rising peoples' questions

The rising peoples ask in effect four questions: (1) Who can help us best to enjoy our basic human rights? (2) What measures and methods can enable us to progress fast enough to meet our old as well as our rising needs? (3) Who can give us the warmth and security of his fellowship without exploiting us and without infringing upon our freedom and self-respect? (4) What is the place of our culture, our interpretation of things, in relation to other cultures and other points of view? The rising peoples have every right to ask these questions and every right to expect to receive an answer to them.

Concerning the internal problems of the West, I might mention that there is such an extraordinary multiplicity of stimuli that the mind is dangerously distracted. Life in many instances appears to have lost its original simplicity. There are too many techniques and there is not enough unity of spirit. Wealth has greatly increased, bringing in its trail both opportunities for high attainment on a large scale, and opportunities for indulgence and softness of living. Moral standards are not as firm and certain as according to the deepest tradition of the West they should be.

There is injustice, there is selfishness, there is callousness, there is discrimination, though nothing compared to what communist propaganda imputes to the West. There are divisions among the ranks of the Western powers, divisions which often impair the effectiveness of the Western impact upon the rest of the world. The classical Western values of freedom, personality, excellence, rank, objective truth, faith in God, and the primacy of the spirit, are subverted both by communist infiltration from without and by doubt and criticism by some of the best Western minds from within. And I fear the full magnitude

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of the communist challenge is not adequately understood or feared.

Peace or war?

The challenge of the technological revolution is simply that the scientists have unleashed such tremendous elemental forces that, while through folly these forces can easily destroy mankind, through wisdom and the spirit of God they can lift all men onto a bright new plane of happiness, peace and wonder.

These four dimensions mutually determine one another. Thus, the technological revolution can do a great deal for the rising peoples, and it is a major factor both in the tension that obtains between communism and the West and in the bearing of both of these upon the rising peoples. Again, communism has deeply penetrated the rising peoples, at least in summoning them up to greater social and economic effort, has profoundly conditioned the life and thought of the West, and has greatly stimulated the technological revolution, both through its own scientific achievements and by calling the West to the toughest competition it has known in this field. Again, the rising countries constitute a great, perhaps a decisive, sphere of competition between communism and the West, and technology is both helping them to solve their old problems and creating new problems for them. Finally, the West constitutes the matrix within which and against which communism arose in the first place, and in relation to which the rising peoples are primarily asserting themselves and the technological revolution, whether in Russia or in Europe and America, is itself a distinctively Western phenomenon which would have been impossible without the cumulative scientific tradition of the West, rooted beyond Einstein in Newton and Descartes, and beyond these in Aristotle, Democritus and the old Pythagorean Brotherhood.

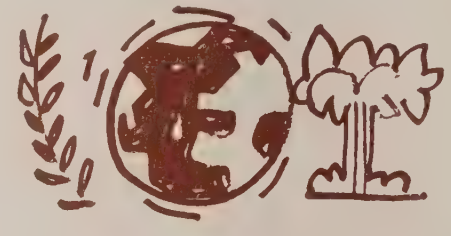
Interaction in the world

The world today, then, is a field of interaction between the West and its heretical offshoot, to wit, communism, and between these two and the old-new peoples of Asia and Africa, and between all three and that strange spark in man which we call science and theory and which goes back to the ancient Greeks.

This is a total challenge, and anything short of a total response to it is a fraud.

To begin with, the communist challenge must be seriously taken for what it is: a radical transvaluation of all hitherto tested and received values. It does not take an interview of eight hours with Khrushchev to discover its nature: the thing is fully and unambiguously explained in their classical writings.

While it is encouraging to note a distinct rise in recent years in the level of understanding the real character of communism, still there are many influential people who preach, or at least are taken by, "peaceful coexistence," and who appear to be prepared to settle for peace at any price and for what is falsely called "mutual accommodation," where ac-



commodation turns out upon analysis to come only from one side.

Such people are only helping, wittingly or unwittingly, the communist cause. Their existence measures the extent to which the non-communist world has been softened up, whether by communist infiltration or by sheer inner moral decay. Having regard to the concrete forces at work, it is possible—although God forbid!—that this awakening has come too late.

The communists teach and believe that the communist proletarian revolution culminating everywhere in the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable wave of the future. They work day and night to make it so. Nothing that happened during the last 40 years has proved them wrong. They have not been dislodged one inch from where they have been really entrenched. One significant dislodging at least should be produced to invalidate communist historical determinism. It is not enough to prevent them from reaching this or that place, although even this containing attempt has not been altogether successful; it is necessary to uproot them from where they have actually taken root. Otherwise history will remain on their side, and history is the most potent of teachers.

Work for freedom

Nor is it enough to proclaim piously that freedom shall win; it is necessary to plan and work in order to produce one significant instance in which it has actually won against communism. And by winning, I repeat, I do not mean containing: I mean actual dislodging. And until that instance is produced, freedom has not won and talk about it remains hollow and perhaps even insincere.

Surely every conceivable weapon should be employed in self-defense—military, political, diplomatic, economic, psychological. Now there is room for a thorough investigation into the limits of self-defense, into when mere self-defense becomes self-defeating, into the inadequacy of the self-defensive and therefore falsely complacent mentality, and therefore into how and where and when one must, *precisely in self-defense,* pass to the offensive. This fundamental investigation I cannot go into here. For what concerns me most this evening is the moral and spiritual weapon. And here too this dialectic of the defense and the offense is most apparent. Morally and spiritually the communists put you and me on the defensive; they make us feel guilty, and we supinely accept the terms of their debate.

They talk in terms of "capitalism," "imperialism," "colonialism," "monopolies," "profits," "exploitation," "means of production,"—all purely economic, purely materialistic terms. And in answering them usually all we say is that the exploiting capitalism of the nineteenth century no longer exists, imperialism has been

liquidated, monopolies are now owned by the people, and as to profits, everybody now shares in them. There is about this response a pathetic air of apology, a ring of feebleness, a sickly note of timidity, and those who make it evidently suffer from a guilty conscience.

A spiritual response

This will not do. They should be answered not in apologetically materialistic terms, but in terms altogether new, terms taking them completely off their guard. They should be answered in human, moral and spiritual terms.

After saying two or at most three sentences on economic and social questions, or perhaps even before saying them, we should be in a moral-existential position ourselves to turn to these men and say to them:

What about freedom of thought and inquiry in your realm? Can people seek the truth really freely? Can they really dissent, really question your fundamental assumptions?

What about freedom of conscience and religion? Do you communists go to church? Do you fall on your knees and pray? And why do you persecute those who do?

What about human rights and fundamental freedoms? Which of these rights are really enjoyed by your people?

Tell us please, what is the object of your ultimate worship? is it the *theory* of dialectical materialism? Is it *atoms in motion?* Is it *force and revolution?* Is it the satisfaction of your bodily and mental *desires?* Is it the *Communist Party?* Is it *Marx and Lenin?* And if they say it is Marx and Lenin, then we should be able to quote them some 50 statements by these men on moral and spiritual matters that would put them morally completely on the defensive.

What about the continuity and the unity of the tradition? Why is your movement an absolute break in that unity and that continuity?

Is there any free criticism of the government in your realm? Have your people ever been given a genuine free political choice?

What about your iron dictatorship? What about your police state?

What about the minority rule under which all communist states languish?

What about the method of subversion all over the world in which every dark trick of deceit and destruction is used?

What about the camps of forced labor?

What about Hungary, what about

Tibet, what about the Chinese communes?

A moral struggle

In other words, the total arsenal of political, moral and spiritual values should be brought to bear upon this struggle. Naturally (if you do not believe that a moral struggle is already upon us, you will not care to struggle at all. Naturally, if you do not believe in the primacy of these political, personal, moral and spiritual values, you will not bring them up at all, or you will bring them up with your tongue in your cheek. Naturally, if you are already converted to the materialistic standpoint of your opponent you will talk only in terms of the gross national product, of raising the standard of living, of the rate of growth of the productivity of the nation, of social and economic justice, and of economic security and social benefits. The communists love to confine you within that round of ideas. But the historic struggle in which we are engaged today is primarily moral, personal and spiritual, and to miss or minimize that dimension of the struggle is already to have been vanquished.

Western spiritual strength

The greatest weakness of the Western strategy is its relative neglect of the intellectual and spiritual dimension. This is strange, because intellectual, moral and spiritual matters are the greatest point of strength in the Western arsenal, if only the West lives up to them. While it is most essential that in arms and armaments, in scientific and technological inventiveness and in the flooding of the world with material goods, the communists should not be allowed to gain and maintain an edge (and I believe it is quite possible to beat them in this field), still it is conceivable that they might gain an edge; for they base their whole philosophy on these things, and one usually does well in what he passionately concentrates his whole being upon.

But in the realm of mind, the realm of the spirit and its wonderful grace, the realm of human and moral valuation—in this realm the West is absolutely asleep, is in fact under a strange kind of hypnosis, if it does not know that it has a tremendous advantage; for this realm is almost wholly opaque to the communists. It is in this realm that the West can articulate a most distinctive message, if only it pulls itself out of its material entanglements. It all depends then on the extent to which the West is already softened up materially, morally and spiritually; namely, on whether there are still strong enough forces which passionately believe in and vigorously and constantly work for and boldly and singlemindedly proclaim the original primacy of the mind and spirit.

The questions which the rising peoples ask deserve every respect and they should certainly be answered; and I assure you I am no idealist who believes that their material and social needs can be met just by ideas lofty and hopes pious and high. Now and for a number of years to come it is possible in this field, with vision and determination, to beat the communists at their own game. But the soul

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and heart of these people must also be reached.

For the sins of their past masters who did not treat them as human beings and who neglected their intellectual and spiritual formation we are all now dearly paying. And we shall pay still more until the intellectual and spiritual reassert themselves fully in Western existence, and until, through that assertion, the heart of the rising peoples is touched and transformed.

Spiritual famine noted

There have been instances of people technically trained in the West who later turned against it, only because intellectually and spiritually they had been left parched and famished. They were very efficient in techniques and forms, but their heart was empty—empty, that is, until communism, or some other anti-Western rebellion, rushed in and filled it. But let the freedom of the mind which liberal education alone imparts, and let the grace and meekness of the spirit which some experience of the Living God alone vouchsafes, touch their heart, and they will be forever grateful to the West for this its greatest secret, no matter how much they may stray away from their original vision in the course of their life.

In the spiritual field, what may the churches do? What is their specific role in the total response? The first thing is to recognize that, while their role is very important, still it is very limited. They cannot take responsibility for military or political or economic or scientific or intellectual decisions. The utmost that can be hoped here is that those who do take responsibility for these decisions are themselves Christians, impregnated with the mind of Christ, with all the wisdom that that involves.

But the churches as such have quite a different sphere of competence. In the prevailing climate of materialism, secularism and indifference they certainly are called to new heroic effort. They must keep the flame of the creative spirit burning. For without the materialism, the secularism, the rationalism and the indifference which have been ravaging the West for at least two centuries, communism would never have taken root and the anti-Western rebellion throughout the world would never have reached its present proportions.

The churches' tasks

It seems to me the churches do three things: they convict us all of our sin and thus they keep us all in the presence and fear of God; they wield the weapons of the spirit in the face of all that is spiritually neutral and all that is anti-truth, anti-being, and anti-Christ; and, regardless of what happens in the world and to the world, they should remain absolutely faithful to Jesus Christ.

They convict us of our sin as they

lift the Cross above every principality and every power. Then we realize how lustful we have been; how proud, how unrepentant, how rebellious, how disobedient, how grasping and selfish, how untrusting; then we see the hold of sin and the devil on our own life. Perhaps then we will fall on our knees; perhaps we will be shattered and humbled; perhaps we will pray. Only through repentance, penance and prayer—the most ardent prayer we can possibly call forth— can God save us and can we help in saving the world.

They wield the weapons of the spirit in the face of untruth and anti-truth by firmly maintaining the right order of value, by declaring that the Spirit comes first and everything else second, by meekly and gently affirming that God is the creator, Christ the redeemer and the Holy Ghost the giver of life and the guide into all truth. But the weapons of the spirit cannot be wielded with unmistakable power in the fact of untruth and anti-truth except if the scandal of disunity is overcome. Untruth and anti-truth enjoy a field day when they see the Church splintered and divided. There is therefore much to repent of and much to pray for, not only in our own individual lives, but in and for the corporate life of the Body of Christ.

The church of Christ

They remain faithful to Jesus Christ by not tying their fate to the fate of systems and governments and orders and cultures and civilizations. The Church is neither Western nor Eastern; it is neither Aryan nor Slav; it is neither Anglo-Saxon nor Latin; it is neither European nor Asian nor African nor American; it is the Church of Jesus Christ by whose "Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free" (I.Cor. 12:13).

In the present terrific clash of culture and ideology I do not know what God is holding in store for us all. I do not know what shall befall this or that system, this or that order, this or that point of view. While defending and identifying itself with truth wherever it finds it, the Church should above all maintain its independence of all worldly fortunes and all the kingdoms of the world. The Church has a separate realm of its own, the most wonderful realm that there is, a realm which even the gates of hell shall not prevail against. Let the Church therefore remain faithful to the Kingdom of God and His Christ. If—God forbid!—the world and its kingdoms should go up in smoke, let at least the name of Christ remain above every name and let the Cross shine above every symbol. In the world the Church can only wield the weapons of the spirit in all purity; it can only wield them helplessly, namely, with the naked help of the Cross; and having thus wielded them, it humbly trusts the issue to God. The issue is always in His hands.

Because of the numerous requests for the address given by Dr. Charles Malik during the National Convocation on Christian Social Concerns in Washington, D.C., April 24-28, *Concern* has carried the complete address in this issue.

by *Roger Burgess*

Social welfare, alcohol problems, and family needs will be highlighted in the 1961-62 program of the Division of Temperance and General Welfare.

This division's program suggestions are in addition to the major 1961-62 emphasis of the Board, which will center attention on peace and world order as the "Key to Any Future."

The division will stress a different issue each season, starting with Fall. This will be a social welfare emphases and will be built around the new book by Dr. Haskell M. Miller, *Compassion and Community,* an appraisal of the church's role in social welfare.

Commitment Day and Christmas for Christ in the Winter will highlight alcohol problems. This year family responsibility for these problems will be stressed.

In the spring the division program will cooperate with the National Council of Churches study on the "Family In Rapid Social Change." Co-operation with the Committee on Family Life in the Local Church, attendance at the National Methodist Family Life Conference in October, 1962, and participation in a special study on Social Welfare Needs of Families in the Local Community will highlight these spring activities.

The National Adult School, sponsored annually by the Division of Temperance and General Welfare will meet this year in Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22-27.

The 1961 school will be held in conjunction with the second National Conference on Churches and Social Welfare sponsored by the National Council of Churches.

More than 100 carefully selected delegates will come together to examine the new general welfare issues assigned to the division.

Edgar to join temperance staff

The Rev. Richard P. Edgar, pastor of Florence Heights Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif., has been named Director of Leadership Development for the Division of Temperance and General Welfare.

His appointment was jointly announced in May by Bishop John Wesley Lord, chairman of the Division of Temperance and General Welfare, and Roger Burgess, associate general secretary who heads the division. Edgar will begin his work with the division July 1.

As Director of Leadership Development, Edgar will work with the chairmen of the Committee of Temperance and General Welfare in Methodism's 100 annual conferences. He will also plan and carry out national training programs for the division including the annual Adult School and the division's part in five Regional Briefing Conferences.

A native of Pomona, Calif., Edgar received the B.A. degree from the University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif., in 1949, and the B.D. degree from Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., in 1952. He became a member of the Southern California-Arizona Conference in 1952.

Edgar served the Florence Heights Church since 1958. Prior to that he served for six years as the conference Associate Director of Youth and Student Work, with major responsibilities in the work with junior high and high school students.

In his annual conference, Edgar has served as a member of the Committee on Temperance and General Welfare, the Board of Education, and the Camp Commission. He is also a member of the California Council on Alcohol Problems.

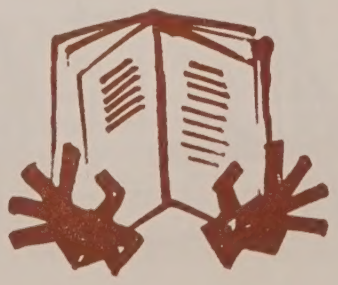
Query

Question: *Where can I find some good materials for teaching juniors about alcohol?*

Answer: *Two good items are coming up soon in the Methodist Curriculum.*

This is a question asked of us almost daily. "Juniors" means the Division of The Methodist Church School that covers the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

The regular dated curriculum prepared by the church's Editorial Division, General Board of Education, contains excellent units in this area. Samples of Methodist Church School materials are available free from the Editorial Division, 201 Eighth Ave., South, Nashville 2, Tenn.

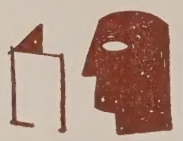


Two very good units of study appear in the current quarterlies for juniors. These are:

1) "Finding Out About Alcohol," in *Junior Quarterly* for April-May-June 1961. This four-session unit of study is to be used during June. Helpful suggestions are included in *Child Guidance* for June.

2) "Finding the Truth About Alcohol" appears as a four-session unit in the *Closely Graded Course V,* part 3 (Junior Curriculum).

A sample packet of other resource materials is available free from Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington 2, D. C. Helpful sale items include "Parents Packet on Alcohol" and "What You Should Know About Smoking and Drinking."



BOOKS

Assignment: Overseas by John Rosengrant and others; Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960, $1.95, paperback.

It is no longer much of a status symbol for Americans to "go abroad." Millions do it. When you add up all those who work in American businesses outside the United States, the military troops, the 30,000 missionaries, and the millions of tourists, you get a sizable number. This book is written for all of them, a good companion to the passport. It intends to make "unugly American" travelers. The subtitle, "How to be a welcome resident and a worthy Christian abroad," puts the emphasis upon the *Christian* who travels, although it is written for all Americans.

The book includes informative background material on the population explosion, how foreign policy is made, and the government exchange program. Then Gerald Mangone adds a most useful chapter on "Cultural Empathy," which is one of five components of effective overseas living common to business man, soldier, missionary, and tourist.

Cultural empathy is "the ability to perceive the inner logic and cohesion of an alien culture and to evaluate behavior within its own economic or ideological context."

The distinctive element in *Assignment: Overseas* is addressed to the American in his religious life. It devotes a few pages each to Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and to Roman Catholicism, a bare primer sketch, of course. Then it adds a full chapter on the Christian missionary impulse and motives, and a treatment of the vigor and growth of the younger churches.

John Rosengrant, the editor, writes a concluding chapter on the conviction that "the layman's role as a Christian emissary overseas is considered no less important than the missionary's . . . We have unintentionally educated Christians to believe that Christian service can be done only by a minister or other full-time persons . . . The time is ripe for greater lay witness." Then he makes precise suggestions on how the Christian overseas can strengthen his Christian witness.

The appendix lists the opportunities for overseas employment by federal government and private agencies, and includes a bibliography of readings, according to countries.

For homework study along with maps and guidebooks, the American traveler of whatever religious faith will do well to invest a little cash and more than a little time in *Assignment: Overseas.* It would make a better "bon voyage" gift than flowers or fruit.—by Robert H. Hamill, pastor of the Wesley Methodist Church, University of Wisconsin.

Who Wants Disarmament? by Richard J. Barnet, Beacon Press, Boston, 1960, paperback, $1.45; hard cover, $3.00.

T. C. Mits (*The Common Man in the Street*) in either the United States or Russia, if asked "Who is holding back disarmament?" would reply, "The other side, of course." In very clear, readable, and carefully documented fashion this book shows that both sides must answer "guilty" to that charge.

To Americans this book will bring the disturbing revelation that, while the Russian bear was the one that refused to advance disarmament negotiations from 1945-1955, the American eagle has been very reluctant to get off the ground after 1955.

Valuable insights are given into the growing pressures upon Russia that may be producing a genuine willingness to take part in effective disarmament. To share these insights is to feel that it would be as tragic to continue automatically labeling USSR disarmament proposals "phoney" as it would be dangerous to enter a disarmament agreement without effective safeguards.

Contrary to the belief in the United States that our government has made up its mind for the goal of disarmament, Mr. Barnet reveals the tense struggle going on in the government as to whether the United States should seek to end the arms race through safeguarded total disarmament, or simply modify it with something called "arms control."

After a fairly objective presentation of the relative merits of the disarmament and arms control positions, Barnet points up the practical questions that must be faced in efforts to halt the arms race.

It could be wished that the author had seen European disengagement, not as the creation of a "dangerous vacuum," but as an opportunity to create a pilot project in UN supervised and controlled disarmament.

In all the book is one that can render major service in dispelling the widespread fog of misunderstanding and misinformation on the crucial subject of disarmament.

Where the reader fits into this picture is emphasized both by Chester Bowles in his excellent foreword to the book and by Barnet in closing it. Each makes it clear that, since disarmament policy involves survival, the determination of this policy cannot be "left up to the men in Washington."—*Rodney Shaw.*

An industrial lesson

The steel dispute of 1959-60 promises to become the means whereby many of us will understand fully for the first time just what goes on behind the scenes when a great industrial conflict is in process.

Three studies have appeared on the strike up to the present. These are:

1) "Toward Maturity in Industrial Relations: A Report of the Steel Dispute of 1959-60. This 40-page pamphlet was issued by a special committee of the National Council of Churches and is available from that organization.

2) "Collective Bargaining in the Basic Steel Industry; a Study of the Public Interest and the Role of Government." This study, prepared by Prof. E. Robert Livernash, is available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

3) "The 1959 Steel Strike: A Triumph of Unity and Democracy." This 64-page pamphlet was produced by the International Affairs Department of the United Steel Workers of America.

No basic conflict

I find no substantial conflict in the substance of these reports. There are some interesting differences on matters of evaluation of the substance involved.

Prof. Livernash does not believe the 116 day strike has had any serious effect on our national economic condition. The other two reports indicate a definite judgment that the strike was an economic tragedy.

The Committee of the NCC vigorously condemns the misleading advertising used by both sides. The steel workers' pamphlet condemns management misleading ads but forgets its own, which were just as bad.

It would have been a refreshing experience if this otherwise excellent union summary had carried a few confessions of guilt. There were mistakes to confess on both sides, and it might have done both parties good to look back and say, "At this point we went too far."

Two things stand out after reading these reports:

1) The main issue of inflation was not faced. The companies raised it and would probably have had to cut the price of steel to make it stick, so they switched to the "2B" or "work rules" issue and threw the victory to the union. The NCC report considers this a main point. The union makes it the central theme.

2) The assertion of the union report that: "The steel industry can now indulge itself in a longer strike before feeling pain," also stands out. Industry in this case means both the companies and the union. The complex reasons for this ability to hold a long strike are given.

The stated aim of the NCC committee report is to provide, if possible, a means for understanding some of the deeper issues of industrial conflict. These three documents constitute a major contribution to an interpretation of a major dispute which vexed industrial order, and whose effects may be with us for a long time. — *by Dr. Edward Carothers, pastor, First Methodist Church, Schenectady, N. Y., and special recorder for the NCC committee on the steel strike.*

The quadrennial program on race

The May 1 issue of Concern *carried the full report of the Quadrennial Program on Race. The regional conferences and the annual conferences are getting under way. As an illustration of the kind of constructive action that can be taken, we point with permission to the following letter from Bryon F. Stroh to Dr. Dwight Culver of Purdue University in Indiana:*

The 1960 General Conference of The Methodist Church calls us to seek with accelerated speed the elimination of racial tensions and segregation with the Church and its agencies.

The Church is now seeking a workable plan in race relations in the local church under the leadership of the National Committee of 36, the Woman's Society of Christian Service, and the General Board of Christian Social Concerns.

To this end an Orientation Conference for the Quadrennial Program on Race Relations was held in Louisville, March 20-24. The Conference question was: "What can The Methodist Church do in its own life and in the community to better race relations?"

The nation has been divided into 39 geographical regions. Indiana is one of these regions, number 23.

By the authority of, and at the request of, Bishop Richard C. Raines and Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., I now call for the initial meeting of our Regional Consultative Committee.

(A description of the time and place of meeting follows.)

The agenda proposed is simple including organization and orientation presentation as follows: Community Resources, WSCS Resources and Coordination, and Human Relations.

Because of your position in the Church the Bishops have asked that you be a member of this Consultative Initial Group. *(The close of the letter follows.)*

This is the list of the Region 23 Consultative Committee on the Quadrennial Program on Race Relations:

Four Louisville Orientation Conference Delegates—Dr. Dwight D. Culver, the Rev. Robert L. Glass, the Rev. Phillip A. Harley, and Mrs. J. N. Rodeheaver.

Representatives from the three Conferences of the Indiana Area—Two chairmen of the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs of Christian Social Concerns; three WSCS conference chairmen of Commissions on Christian Social Relations; one to three students from the Interboard Commission; one Area Director of Public Relations and Communications; and one Area Administrative Assistant.

Representatives from the Lexington Conference, St. Louis Area—one Indiana District lay leader; one Conference Woman's Society of Christian Service secretary; and one conference youth leader.

Dateline

(continued from page 1)

als, which would cost $10 million the first year, go beyond programs to aid juvenile delinquents and include youthful offenders as well.

Coupled with the President's legislative proposals was an executive order establishing the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was named to head the committee and the Attorney General's special assistant, David L. Hackett, was appointed executive director.

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg was also appointed to the committee, reflecting the President's concern that unemployed youth contribute to the crime problem. Third and final member of the committee is Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff. This is the first time that the Justice, Labor and HEW Departments have been asked to assume coordinated Federal leadership for a delinquency and crime prevention program.

Their efforts will be complemented by a Citizens Advisory Council of not more than 21 members which was also established by executive order.

Under the President's proposals $10 million would be available July 1 to finance demonstration projects, train personnel, and give technical assistance to states and local communities working to reduce juvenile and youth offenses.

Major emphasis under the President's Federal grant program would be given to selecting communities or states which are developing crime control techniques applicable to other parts of the country.

The Federal funds to train workers in the crime control field "would make possible an intensive effort in meeting the acute shortage of probation officers, police, social workers, institutional house parents, and youth gang workers."

The House of Representatives recently voted $4 billion for the Health, Education and Welfare Department in spite of complaints that some of the money was going for studies of "social behavior at cocktail parties."

The funds were part of a $2,327,457,000 bill to operate HEW, the Labor Department, the National Labor Relations Board, and several other agencies in the fiscal year beginning July 1.

Waging the fight against the measure was Rep. H. R. Goss (R-Iowa), who wanted a flat ban on fellowship grants in the humanities and social studies under the National Defense Education Act.

Gross ridiculed a study of social behavior at cocktail parties paid for by the National Institute of Mental Health. A member of the Appropriations Committee pointed out that the study had been cancelled.

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the District Committee has not yet decided what the recommendation will be.

Few bills in Congress

These are but examples of the liquor industry's influence throughout the country. In this atmosphere there is an obvious scarcity of measures in Congress to control the liquor industry or regulate. Two measures are before Congress at this time.

H. R. 2297 is before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House. This bill would prohibit the advertising of liquors by mail, newspaper, radio, and television, and prevent the interstate shipment of any such advertising material. No hearings have been scheduled on this bill.

Also before Congress is a group of almost identical bills dealing with the sale, dispensing, or drinking of alcoholic beverages on aircraft. House Resolutions 720, 1174, 6718, 6809, and 6883 are before the House. All have been referred to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Before the Senate is a companion bill, S. 887, which has been referred to the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

No hearings have been scheduled on any of these bills. Letters supporting this legislation should be addressed to your Senator or Representative or to the chairman of the appropriate committee.

The chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

The chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.), House of Representatives Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. — *by Leighton E. Harrell, Consultant for Legislative Affairs for the Division of Temperance and General Welfare.*

Christian comment counts

The Washington Legislative Committee is a newly formed semi-official group of ministers and laymen from the Washington metropolitan area who are seeking to help the Methodist Church make a more effective witness on capitol hill.

The group has been meeting with members of the Board of Christian Social Concerns to discuss current legislation in Congress. At its last meeting, the committee pointed up a number of bills in Congress which need Christian Concern. The committee urges Christians to contact their Senators and Representatives on these bills:

1) Federal Aid to Education.

2) Federal assistance for projects leading to solutions for juvenile delinquency; support Senate Bill 279; support Mrs. Green's bill in House.

3) Migrant workers; support Senate bills to help and protect migrant workers; write Sen. Harrison Williams for bills.

4) Gambling; support House Bill 3024 prohibiting transportation of gambling devices; support House Bill 7031, prohibiting communication of gambling information.

5) Other issues that need Christian comment are—a national lottery, the Youth Corps, Medical aid to aged, food for peace, anti-crime proposals.